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European Publications

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The U.S. Elections - 1948

The leaders and parties in the electoral campaign of 1948 present a picture of paradox. The conflict between Russian Imperialism and Anglo-American Imperialism dominates all other issues. Within the framework of this conflict, the mask for world Imperialism, the United Nations, masquerades as the world public, impartial arbiter between Eastern and Western Imperialism while it is actually the world market place for Eastern and Western Imperialism, for making deals on atomic armament; partition of Germany, export and import of capital between East and West; spheres of influence in the colonial and semi-colonial areas. It is the mask under cover of which American Imperialism promotes the Marshall Plan for the subjugation of the world. It is the cloak under which Russia promotes the Moscow Imperialist plan. Together, they add up to a War plan.

Internally, the drive of the capitalist class of the U.S. against the working class sharpens. It saddles the working class with the Taft-Hartley law, no-strike injunctions, anti-radical and Stalinist spy scares. This is the pattern for mobilization for Imperialist War III, emphasized by the Military Draft.

President Truman and his competitor Thomas E. Dewey present themselves as champions of freedom and liberty against the expansion of Russian Imperialism, while they support military dictatorships in Greece, China, Korea and Japan (MacArthur democracy). Truman and Dewey claim to be leaders in the fight against war, yet they promote the Marshall Plan, which is the political-economic phase of military measures in time of war. They both support the military draft. They are, in words, for the independence of all people, yet they promote the E.R.R. which makes the whole of Western Europe dependent on U.S. Imperialism. Truman states that the Republican party is opposed to the working class and Dewey states that the Democratic party is against labor. They are both right. Both parties have united to dragoon the American workers so that labor costs of production (wages) would not rise, along with capitalist profit. Truman announces that the Republican party is the party of economic depression, and Dewey announces that the Democratic party is the party of inflation. Both are correct. Dewey snorts that the Truman foreign policy is a weak and vacillating one, yet Democrat Marshall and Republican Dulles are carrying out a bi-partisan foreign policy, which will inevitably lead to War.

The leaders of the Republican and Democratic parties expose each other and reveal that they are nothing but political office-boys for capitalism.

Taking advantage of the resentment against the Republican and Democratic declarations of bankruptcy, of a large minority of the American workers and middle class, Henry Wallace in alliance with Stalinism, has launched a party, called the Progressive Party. This party performs a two-fold function. It is a pressure instrument for Russian foreign policy, and a party for small capitalists. As far back as the year 1943, Wallace trumpeted that small business people, to him, meant employers of five-hundred workers and up. He has continually reiterated in this campaign that he supports free-enterprise capitalism while he advocates nationalization of basic industries. This means he wants the capitalist state to become the main investor in the economy while allowing room for the wealthy middle strata of capitalists, like himself, to expand. Wallace supports the Imperialist Marshall Plan in concealed form by supporting the Stalinist foreign policy, which is in favor of a Marshall Plan with clauses, favorable to Russia. On the other hand, he is "a knight in shining armor", who, in the best traditions of Imperialism and nationalism, claims he will make America "strong, free and happy". His apparent

militancy on behalf of the Negro and Jewish workers is so much accretion to catch votes. His program is pro-capitalist and anti-working class.

The most comical picture of paradox are the Trotskyites and the Socialists. They want a labor party which is at the same time militant and anti-capitalist; bourgeois democratic and revolutionary. (they want opportunism without opportunists) They want a Marshall plan that is anti-capitalist and pro-working class, all in one. They are for a maximum of democracy for the working-class and advocate at the same time the highest degree of totalitarianism, nationalization of basic industries (under capitalism). Norman Thomas advocates Socialism while he proposes to use capital to buy out the biggest capitalists. Of course, Thomas will have to exact a promise from the capitalists not to reinvest the capital with which he proposes to purchase their industry, and thus continue accumulation of capital. Confiscation with compensation on the heels of a hypothetical Trotskyite-Socialist parliamentary victory as a substitute for the class struggle, is the road to ruin; the road of state capitalism and bureaucracy. Norman Thomas wants an Imperialist War which at the same time is "pro-working class". He supported World War II and advocated the impossible, an Imperialist war with "democratic aims".

Clearly, support for any of the parties and leaders at present dominating the American political arena is support for capitalism and wars.. Instead of a vote for the parties of war and capitalism, we advocate the building of a working-class revolutionary party in the U.S. with the following basic principles.

- 1- Our conception of the world and the society proper to it is that of Marx's scientific Socialism.
- 2- For the reconstitution of a revolutionary International against the Internationals of Betrayal (Social Democracy, Stalinism, Trotskyism)
- 3- Against collaboration with the bourgeois and pseudo-proletarian parties which uphold the false and deceitful banner of "truedemocracy".
- 4- The trade unions of the C.I.O., and A.F.L., Railroads Brotherhoods and "Independent Unions", are part of the legal apparatus of the capitalist state. Working class unity will be achieved on the basis of the platform of the party of the revolution, and, under its leadership, within those organisms, created in the revival of proletarian class struggle.
- 5- The farm-workers are the class brothers of the Industrial proletariat and must be won over to class solidarity.
- 6- All so-called movements of colonial independence have an Imperialist base. There does not exist for the colonial and semi-colonial areas, any longer the problem of a bourgeois revolution. The only road is that of proletarian revolution.
- 7- The proletariat must work for the defeat of its own bourgeoisie and its satellites in the advanced industrial sectors of world capitalism, as well as for the defeat of its own bourgeoisie and satellites of the colonial and semi-colonial areas of world capitalism, in time of war.
- 8- The defeat of the bourgeoisie, on a world scale, accomplished through the civil wars of the proletariat, under the guidance and leadership of the Revolutionary International party, will be the beginning of the Socialist Reorganization of Society under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
- 9- The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, will serve as the transition to the classless society of Socialism, where the state, as known under capitalism, will disappear, and Government and Tyranny, will become the history of the past.
- 10- The Dictatorship of the proletariat is not to be understood as a defense of the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the dictatorship of the proletarian will arise in Russia, which is now an Imperialist state, through Socialist revolution.

D. Atkins

The Christian - Democratic and the Stalinist Unions

Workers:

As we said long ago, the split within the trade unions is practically complete. With the strong support of the government, and with an influence methodically acquired under cover of "trade-union unity", the Christian Democrats at last have caused the fatal development of events; the social-national communists have undergone it, and offer to the dissidents a part of your patrimony, so they can build a new house.

From now on, two workers organizations will compete for your vote, for your support, and contributions. One will entice you with the flattering relations which unite it with the government, and, consequently, the greater influence which it is able to exercise. The other will ask you to join under the old flag of a tradition of struggle, trying to recuperate, with the exclusion of the clerical trade-unionism; a proletarian virginity, long and for ever lost.

The truth is, that neither one of these two organizations can pretend to represent your class interest. They are divided, not because the interest and the aspirations of the workers are represented by one of the parts, and the interest and the will for survival of capitalism are represented by the other; they are divided for the same reasons that caused the splits of the tripartisan governments. Because the guiding political forces - christian democrat on one side, socialist and social national-communists on the other - they are nothing but the national editions of international capitalist forces in conflict. Both of them are the unions of capitalism and war, because they are directed by the parties of the bourgeois, tied to the capitalistic interests of Occident and Orient, of America and Russia. With the creation of a clerical trade union, the first, are looking for guaranties for undisturbed function in the national reconstruction under American terms; the others are trying to maneuver the old and traditional workers' organization, to integrate it under Russian terms. Both tie the trade unions to the bourgeois state whose control they hold as agents of America, or whose control they aim to obtain as agents of Russia. It is for this same reason, that even the minority group, Saragat and Republican, which today declare they remain as a factor of reconciliation and arbitration in the old C.G.L. will be unavoidably forced, with the process of time, and as a force supporting American imperialism, to be promoters of new and irreparable splits.

Workers:

Both trade unions will act within the field of democracy, legality and reform, within the traditional field of your ruin. Yesterday united, the trade union of "frozen wages", of the reconstruction of the economic and political apparatus of capitalism, of the obstruction to the demobilization of troops, of the maneuvered strikes; of the subordination of your fight to the so-called superior interests of the fatherland. Divided, both trade unions will remain the same.

Every one of them will promise, in order to attract support, and votes, the most complete internal democracy, the most complete right to expression of minorities, the guaranty of "no-politics". But you know by experience, after years and years of political democracy, that through the very same mechanism of the so-called liberties, the capitalist State exercises its pitiless control over the working class. You know that feeding you with the illusion of solving your problems with ballots, or with the exercise of certain constitutional guaranties, it is possible for the bourgeoisie to paralyze, to corrode, to destroy your fighting spirit, the class-solidarity in your struggle. The split, leaves intact the conservative character of the trade unions: no innovations in the organization of the C.G.L., no technical ability in the construction of the clerical trade union, will make of these two trade unions an instrument of defense of your class interests,

a fighting instrument against the political and economic frame work of capitalism. Neither one of the two will be free, because both of them are tied to the forces of imperialism and war; neither one of them will be proletarian, because both of them are engaged in maintaining the society of your exploitation.

Workers:

We, internationalist communists, will operate with our propaganda and our action to clarify for you, the counter-revolutionary role of the two trunks of trade-unionism; to assist you to recognize in them, and in the forces that control them, one of the bastions of the capitalist State, against which you are called to fight. This is the necessary condition for a complete break with the chains that keep you tied to the programs and institutions of the capitalist reaction. The class unity of the proletarians will not be built around either one of the two counter-revolutionary trunks of one organization, which is dead for your fight, and ultimate interests. The class unity will be built around the class program of the party of the revolution, and, under guidance, within the organisms that the revolutionary impulse of the masses will know how to create in situations of revival of the proletarian upsurge. Against the clerical trade-unions of Pastore and De Gasperi; against the trade-unions, apparently red, but counter-revolutionary in reality, of Di Vittorio and Togliatti, the communist vanguard continues the fight to prepare the political and material arms for the unavoidable revolutionary advance necessary of the proletarian, and, first of all, to prepare that decisive weapon of struggle and guidance, that is the class party. The communist vanguard knows that, finding yourself in the tragic situation in which the counter-revolutionary parties have placed you, the great majority of you, under a fear psychosis, the possibility of hunger, and the danger of being fired, will remain attached to trade-unions, from which, however, there is nothing to be expected. Nevertheless, the communist vanguard call the proletarians who have the strength, to place above everything else, the ultimate class interests, over the risks and dangers of the moment. The proletarians who feel urgently the political problem of freeing themselves and their class, from the claws of imperialism and war; to get together around the program and the organized force of the Party and its trade-union section. Since if in this dark hour we are going through, there is still a light and a hope of proletarian advance and class victory, it is there, around that program and that organism of struggle, the party that is strong and active. Long life to the class unity of the workers!

Executive Committee of the
Internationalist Communist Party
From Battaglia Comunista
Aug. 4- 11, 1948.
Translated by, Graco

"On Trotskyism"

The more one follows the evolution of Trotskyism, the more one realizes the political shallowness of the motives separating them from Stalinism. One could say that between the two currents there is a relationship of relay racers, in which the runner up front is overtaken, and relinquishes his banner, which he seemed to carry high and immaculate. In other words, Trotskyism appears as the forerunner of an evolution that Stalinism accomplishes with iron logic, even if slightly belated, behind its fictitious rival. It is thus driven to take sides with it, without fear or embarrassment, in the fundamental turns of the recent history of the development of capitalism. This explains both the difficulty Trotskyism finds in differentiating, clearly, its program and tactics from those of Stalinism, and its characteristic procedure of converging or diverging from Stalinism, according to the distance between two runners.

Yet, this impression, on closer analysis appears mistaken. Rather than representing the experimental field of the evolution of Stalinism, the Trotskyite tactics suggest the picture of a "child prodigy", whose adventures in dangerous country, perfectly tolerated by his mother, have the extraordinary power of leading the confounded sheep back to the sheep-fold, and of returning to the superior authority of the family, which it thought for a while to escape.

In fact, it is not only true that Trotskyism anticipates, in its tactics, those which are necessarily to be the maneuvers of Stalinism, but it is also true that after rapid excursions into the zone of fire, they return inevitably to the point where it seemed their course separated from that of Stalinism.

This is obviously the fate of all middle-of-the-road positions, which is not only that of being continuously devoured by reformism, but also leading back to their common denominator, Stalinism. It is thus an iron historic logic, which, after violent contrasts, brings Trotskyism to line up regularly with the more typically reactionary formations of reformism, and to be the tail of the popular fronts and War. It does not matter if they reject the traditional and classic armament of Trotskyism, like the "Defense of the Soviet Union": the conclusion is always, and fatally, the same; nor can it be said to speak for the clarity of those who are "Against the defense of the Soviet Union", while upholding the Trotskyite "Transitional Program".

II

One of the most characteristic stumbling blocks of Trotskyism, is the question of the struggle for independence, of semi-colonial and colonial countries, including under this heading, not only the countries where bourgeois colonialism exists for more than a century, but also the countries with high industrial development, which the second Imperialist war has placed under the iron control and total exploitation of the great powers.

In regard to these struggles, the constant position of Trotskyism, is to support all movements of so-called independence of the native bourgeoisie, as factors able to weaken the international frame of the colonizing imperialism. This well-intentioned support, is conditioned in the sense of maintaining their distance, organizationally, between the bourgeois parties of independence and the anti-imperialist proletarian parties. But results in a substantial parallel in their programs, and consequently, also in their tactics. The foundation of the colonial policy of Trotskyism has nothing which differentiates it from the nationalistic parties of bourgeois radicalism. They are aims which rotate around bourgeois democracy and national independence. In this field, Stalinism can temporarily differentiate itself in a more cautious way, to pose the same problems, and certainly concealing them. But it is unavoidable that during its development, it is driven not only to make them its own, but also to make its own, the slogans, which a short while ago the Trotskyites announced as their own private discovery.

It was enough, for instance, for the imperialist contradictions between the U.S.A., and U.S.S.R. to blaze up, and the slogan of "national independence" became the rallying cry of "national communism", after the destruction of a whole series of "illustrious" national independences, together with the unavoidable sequence of democratic slogans, advanced as a transitional stage towards Socialism. Once again Trotskyism and Stalinism merge together.

Read the message of the 4th International to the Japanese workers (Fourth International Sept.- Oct. 1947, p. 242 - "Open Letter to Workers and Peasants of Japan") Its criticism of Stalinism resolves itself into a particular and episodic aspect, instead of characterizing it as generally, fundamentally counter-revolutionary. The "Open Letter" to the Japanese workers and peasants criticizes Stalinism for support to the Imperial institution (support which Stalinism has since renounced without ceasing, for all that, from being reactionary). The tactics resolve themselves into a demand for the withdrawal of the occupation troops and the right of the people to dispose of themselves. This slogan, which now has become the leit-motif of all Popular Fronts, is, from the Marxian point of view, false; as if the withdrawal of occupation troops under the regime of imperialism internationally could mean liberty for any "people" (What is, from the Marxist standpoint, a people?) to dispose of themselves; as if a people could, under capitalism, choose their own destiny. Once these troops are withdrawn, they request free elections for a Constituent Assembly, in which the people could decide without coercion, the type of State and Constitution which they really want (for the "Marxists" of the 4th International, bourgeois parliament is not a form of coercion). In the struggle against inflation and the high cost of living, the 4th International fights for a sliding scale of wages adjusted to the high cost of living, for control of production exercised by factory committees democratically elected; for price control; for control of distribution of goods by trade unions and by committees freely elected by house-wives and poor peasants, thus joining together with the petty-bourgeois reformers on the one hand, and on the other, with Stalinism on a world scale. Finally (here comes the comedy) they promote the "creation of a workers' and peasants' government with bourgeois ministers" (this last addition, by itself, is a treasure) with the final goal, which neither the reformist socialists nor Stalinists have yet renounced, "the complete abolition of capitalism". Let a Japanese worker choose between this dish, containing democratic aims and remote revolutionary postulates, and a program of national independence and progressive democracy, condensed in the same minimum objectives, but leaning on the military strength of Russia, and defy him not to choose this last one. Especially when the Secretariat of the 4th International strives to prove that the Stalinist bureaucracy has betrayed the fundamental program of Socialism, but in case of war supports it (although in conditional form- "fire...on condition") in the name of defense of the "progressive" and "revolutionary conquests" of the nationalized economy and state planning.

III

But there are those within the Trotskyite current, who cannot swallow this capitulation, in view of the evident treason to the revolutionary internationalist cause of the proletariat by the "progressive" Russia of Stalin. The dissident wing lead by Shactman, is in this position in the U.S.A. But also for this dissident branch of International Trotskyism, centrism remains the law, and centrism is the antechamber to Stalinism.

The Marshall Plan, is, by common acceptance, a plan for making Europe a colony of Imperialism. The Stalinists say this also; on the basis of which they carry on their propaganda, which is not only electoral. The Trotskyites say this, the same as we do. But what conclusions do they draw from it? The same conclusions as the Stalinists, which Shactman's Workers' Party attacks most violently (Labor Action, Nov. 17, 1947) it is necessary to support aid to Europe, but requires

that it does not become a weapon for the subjection of the Old World to the Imperialism of the New. In other words, requesting Imperialism to give charity; protesting because it gives too little; less than it could; and pretending that the help given, be given without obligation; for Christian pity; and that they should not make satellites of those who receive it (for these "Marxists," one can be both debtor and independent, slave and free!)

Their practical program:-

1- "full help, material, financial, moral (moral, too, for God's sake) to be given to the working class and the people of Europe; Labor Action, far from opposing, thinks that much more could be done by capitalistic America in order to help Europe, than what is proposed in the Marshall plan (then, it is under capitalist auspices).

2- "We oppose all links and conditions to an aid program which in any way, might facilitate the intervention of American Imperialism into the internal affairs of the countries aided...as well as the imposition of interest, the insistence on preferential treatment and other methods of Imperialist intervention". (For the Trotskyites as well as for the Stalinists who hold the same position, intervention is not the essence of advancing capital or raw material, but is related to particular clauses, which if excluded, would not lessen their iron bound subservience. Trotskyism and Stalinism welcome help from the patrons, but "don't make us pay interest."

3- Here comes the grotesque.- Togliatti at the 6th Congress (C.P. of Italy) used the same argument with the same or similar words---"We are against the management of the plan by trusts and corporations....and we propose that the trade unions of the respective countries have the right to save and protect the interests of their workers, so that no fund, loan etc. be used for their exploitation". (European industry then would have to accept loans, but not to exploit the workers. That is, they would have to stop functioning as capitalistic industry. Those who advance the money would concede the worker, through his defence organizations, the right to make unproductive, the lented capital!)

Thus we see that Trotskyism, defenders of the Soviet Union or not, arrive at the same conclusions. They accept democracy and reject the consequences. They play at independence with the weapons of Imperialism. They seek to reform the most subtle measures for the stabilization of world capitalism, and passers them off as progressive measures. Imperialism can rejoice. It is not interested in the conditions. The essential, is to have guaranteed the support of that class, which traditionally it considered its adversary. Be quiet, Left or Right Trotskyites, American Imperialism will not need to impose clauses to realize, through the policy of your help and of your blessed Stalinist cousins, the subjection of Western Europe to their plans.

IV

Finally, there is a variety of Trotskyism, which, independently of the acceptance or not of the slogan of defense of the U.S.S.R., are convinced that the tactics of supporting the movements for national or colonial independence is ruinous, in the terms in which Trotskyism traditionally poses it. The New International (organ of Shactman) reports the resolution, (October 1947, p. 253) of a group of Chinese Trotskyites which left the official organization because it goes on supporting the Kuomintang even after it has long ceased to lead an independent anti-imperialist struggle against Japan (and when had it led it?). The Chinese dissidents are aware of the failure of the policy of unconditional support to all movements of colonial emancipation, and recognize that the flag of "Independence from Imperialism", (in this case, Japanese Imperialism) has always served only to justify the repression of the workers' movements and the massacre of the proletarians. But from this first correct premise they do not arrive at a critical reevaluation of the problem, in the sense of recognizing, that all the so-called

movements of colonial independence have, mainly today, an imperialist base, and that on the other hand, there does not exist anymore, for the colonies, the problem of a bourgeois revolution. So that, either from the point of view of the fight against Imperialist exploitation, or from the internal one of the class struggle, the only question is that of proletarian revolution. They (The Chinese Trotskyites) derive from it a line, which, while pretending to liquidate the errors of the past, leads the workers struggle, again, on the track to all the defeats, the proletariat of the colonial countries have already suffered. The foundation of the Trotskyite attitude in regard to colonial movements is always this:-

"participate in the war while maintaining complete independence of action and policy": "a movement for national emancipation led by the "national" bourgeoisie of the colonial countries can assume a progressive character only when the masses which participate, enjoy full liberty of propaganda, organization and action" (one demands the impossible); a bourgeois movement can be progressive or not, and after the evaluation as to its progressiveness, they will have to be supported or not. For instance:- "The anti-imperialist wars led by the colonial bourgeoisie have not been and will not invariably be progressive under all conditions, or at all times. Their character must always be decided in terms of internal and international factors."

Internal:- if the war is lead at the price of a terrible oppression of the native workers and peasants (could you figure a war which does not oppress, or which, since it seems a problem of degree, oppresses slightly, peasants and workers?) then, although it seems it has a progressive role in the struggle against the imperialist power, it is, however, reactionary.....

International:- if the war is between a colonial country, on one side, and an imperialist power on the other, that is progressive; if it is lead instead (or in the last analysis, ends by being) between two Imperialist powers, and thus becomes part of the Imperialist war....it loses the progressive character it had at the beginning"--- as if in the age of Imperialism, a colonial country could ever lead a "pure colonial war" without becoming a pawn of another Imperialist power.

Final result:- the Trotskyites will fight for colonial independence even in a war led by the respective exploitative bourgeoisie, claiming the right to be, at the same time disciplined soldiers, and intransigent revolutionaries.

It is well that the Trotskyite positions be shown in all their absurdity, as in this case when carried to their logical conclusions. The absurd is really at the base of middle-of-the-road positions (centrism). A very busy search for progressive conquests in a society which no longer has anything to offer the proletariat, but war. Placed on this plane, one slides to the bottom: either one embraces war without conditions, or one, in the manner of a lover picking the petals of a daisy, says, "the war is progressive, the war is not progressive; it will cause suffering; it will not cause suffering; it will be made between Imperialist powers, or between colon and colonizers. Since the answer of the daisy is no longer necessary, one is thrust into the war, saving face with the declaration that one keeps an independent face....with the result, acting as cannon-fodder for the bourgeoisie, or for the "Socialist sixth of the world". Receiving as final reward, besides the damage, the jokes and butts of the bourgeoisie.

At bottom, this is well deserved, because if the problem is to find, with Diogenes lamp, the intermediate links of progress, under the bourgeois regime, what of "progressive democracy" which Stalinism has sold everywhere in the World?

From Prometheus- April- May 1948
Translated by.....P. Crespo

The German Crisis

The struggle between Russian and Western Imperialism for Berlin, is the struggle for domination of Germany. The conflict over Germany is the struggle of Eastern and Western Imperialism for Europe. The battle for Europe is the struggle for world domination between Russian Imperialism and American Imperialism.

Russia and the United States compete for the support of the masses of Germany. Whichever Imperialism wins hegemony over Germany has a mighty sword poised to plunge into the vitals of the other. In order to forge that sword on the anvil of Germany, both Imperialisms raise the demagogic slogan of "Unified Germany". Both therefore, attempt to appear as genuine friends of a "Unified National German State". The fiction of unity is promoted by the merging of the Western occupied zones and the erection of a parliamentary facade to make the illusion seem convincing. Imperialist France, a defeated power within the victorious Western war bloc reluctantly goes along, fearing a German Imperialist revival under either Russian or Western Imperialism. Russian Imperialism constructs an apparatus in the trade union sector, and under the party of the German-Soviet police, the "Socialist Unity Party", to promote a "Unified German National State". Russian and American Imperialism masquerade as "Democracy", in order to conceal their Imperialist aims in Germany. Within the Eastern bloc, Poland goes along on the Russian program, reluctantly, for fear of a revived German Imperialism.

The modern content of capitalist rule is once again shown most clearly on the German question. It is state capitalism, more popularly known as Fascism, Nazism, and Stalinism. "Democracy" in Germany is composed of the myriad trade union and parliamentary bureaucrats who in the Russian sphere carry out the orders of the Russian Imperialist military government, and in the Western spheres, the allied Military government orders. Their trade union and political organisms rest on the bayonets of Russian and American Imperialism. In Eastern Germany, these are the Stalinist Socialist Unity Party, and the Christian Democrats. In Western Germany, they are mainly the Social-Democrats and Christian Democrats. On both sides of the "Iron curtain", these satellites seek to peddle the programs of Imperialism to the German masses. However, the attempt to still American or Russian domination through the "democratic" gentry to the German masses has failed. In the absence of a revolutionary marxist party it is increasingly evident that the German workers and farmers still favor Nazism. Nazism, being the state capitalist political ideology of German Imperialism is a ready tool of Russia and the United States in the struggle to rule Germany. Therefore the present and future policy to substitute Nazi rulers for the Bourgeois Democratic fakers by Russia and America prove to the hilt, that historically, the issue is, not Democracy versus Fascism, nor Democracy versus Russia, but proletarian revolution versus capitalism.

The capitalist trade unions of United States Imperialism show, on the German question, once again that they are part of the legal apparatus of American capitalism. The C.I.O. and A.F.L. seek to carry out the policies of American Imperialism among the German rank and file, but without success. The labor Department's Trade Union Advisory Committee on International affairs, in which the C.I.O. International Affairs Director Michael Ross represented the C.I.O., and the A.F.L. by Irving Brown and Henry Rutz, had, among other things, the following to report, "Resentment and criticism, throughout our zone, whether justified or not, are rife to such an extent that one can generalize by saying that no German politician can afford to become too much identified with occupation policy and administration". The C.I.O. News of Sept. 27, 1948 further reports that the U.S. trade union representatives said they found that most of the German union members and all

democratic forces in Germany "fear annihilation if military government disappears. As in the Russian Sphere, Democracy in the Western Zone is military rule.

The German working class must break with Russian, American, French and Nazi domination. They must begin to understand that just as "Democracy" works for their continued exploitation, Nazi Imperialism will lead them on the same road to ruin via a revived super-nationalism. At best, the German workers will remain semi-colonial slaves under any form of capitalist rule. The slogan of a "Unified Germany" adopted by Stalinist Imperialism, and U.S. Imperialism, with their satellites, reading from left to right, is part of a program to keep the German proletariat united against its own class interests.

The road of the German working class must be the road of Revolutionary Internationalism, which means a split with its own exploiters, foreign and domestic, and a rejection of the concept of a "Unified Germany". Rather, the unity of the German workers must be unity with comrades of all the nations of the world in building a world revolutionary party, which shall, in Germany, and internationally, establish the Revolutionary Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

Remember, German comrades, the Marshall plan is fattening you a little bit more in order to use you in a war against Russia. The Moscow plan seeks the same goal, to use you in a war against the United States. The Nazi plan seeks to exploit your false national pride for the same Imperialist war aims.

Your only choice will ultimately be the road of revolution. Take it.

D. Atkins

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